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ANIMADVERSIONS ON A PAPER ENTITLED VIRGINIA AD-  
DRESSES, PRINTED IN PHILADELPHIA.\*

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The Design of this Paper is to expose and Vilify the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and to confront their Address to his Majesty with a Counter Address of the Grand Jury of that Country.

That Strangers may know what this Grand Jury is, it is a Company of men pickt by the Sherrif or under Sherrif, And this Sherrif is an officer of the Governours Nomination under his Constant Influence and direction. And therefore it may be easily judged which is most to be regarded, in giving a Character of a Governour, their Testimony or the Testimony of an House of Burgesses Elected by all the Freeholders of the Country. And indeed it must be owned in favour of this Grand Jury (whose high Compliments some think have exceeded all bounds) that except the Accusing the House of Burgesses they have done no more than other Grand Jurys have alwayes done when desired, and which must alwayes be expected from such a Constitution, for that Country never had, nor ever will have so bad a Governour that a Grand Jury so pickt will not Justify.

It is no wonder if such a body of men is unanimous, and if without hesitation or debate they sign any Address they know will please. But it is said there are some particular Reasons why they thought not fitt to Dispute this Address: Understanding both matter and forme, and the whole draught indeed was well perused by the Person himself in favour of whome it was design'd, who has an admirable Talent at setting off anything to the best advantage. Whether it be true that it was drawn by himself he knows best, only the great freedom

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\*The paper here presented is evidently one prepared by the House of Burgesses during the quarrel with Governor Spotswood in 1719. See *Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, 320 &c, and Campbell's *History of Virginia*, 398-402.

it takes in exposing and ridiculing the House of Burgesses in his words and style is more like him and is more tollerable in a Person of his high Station who is used to the Dictators Style, than it is like the style of private men: Except we can Suppose in an Instant, a new Spirit miraculously infused into all this Company to treat their Superiours at this Domineering rate, it is both more Charitable and much more probable to Account for it without a Miracle from their old usuall Spirit, namely that of a profound Submission to the Person in whose power it is to advance their dear self Interest and Ambition, and an Implicite applause of everything that comes from him.

However since they own it by putting their hands to it, they will pardon us if in treating of it, we take it all along as comeing from them and do not Observe that high Respect which perhaps would be due to some other Author.

Parra 1st. Most gracious Sovereign &c.

Ans<sup>r</sup> 1. The Logick of this Paragraph is this, That whoever is not contented with the Administration of any of his Majestys Governours or Deputy Governours, tho they take no irregular Course to Right themselves but only by humble Petition apply to his Majesty, are disturbers of the publick Tranquillity, and their principles and practices are to be condemned with the greatest abhorrence, tho' they Act in a publick Station, and are entrusted with the Conservation of the libertys of the People. But the Question is whether the Authors of male-Administration or the Complainers of them are the greatest disturbers of the publick Tranquillity.

2. In the same Paragraph is insinuated that all such Complaints give a diversion to his Majestys weighty Affairs there mentioned viz. The preserving the libertys of Europe, and restoring Peace to contending Nations. This is a turn as much too arrogant for Virginia, and the Grand Jury as it is too little for King George as if the forbidding Innovations or the recalling a plantation Governour, or altering his Instructions could Disturb his Majesty or put any stop or diversion to his great Actions or designs in Europe.

In the same Breath they decide all the matters in difference to be groundless Clamours and Complaints, As if the House of Burgesses had been Endited before this Grand Jury as Criminals, and they had nothing to do but immediately (without knowing anything of the matter) to bring in Billa Vera. A Quick but insolent way of deciding all the Controversies between the Country and the Governour and of taking the Judgment out of his Majestys hands.

Parragraph 2d.

In this Parragraph the Generall doctrine about discontented People is applyed to the House of Burgesses, who Transmitted to his Majesty an Address against their Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governour. They are called here a party and are said to have Transmitted that Address in an Irregular and unjustifiable manner. Before we come to the Address, why must they be called a party? if a Major part of a House of Burgesses whose business it is to preserve the liberties of their Country may not Address his Majesty when they think them invaded without being reckoned a party, sure no others may, and so he must be reconed a party man who right or wrong does not approve of all a Governors Actions. And then the plantation Governours may be as Arbitrary as they please, if all Addresses to the King right or wrong must be condemned.

But they did it in no Irregular and unjustifiable manner. We have been at a loss to find out the meaning of this, and are informed that it relates to the sudden bringing it into the House ready drawn without the formallity of debating and proving first the severall Articles, and appointing a Comittee to draw it. But they who know the Constitution of that Government tell us there was an Absolute Necessity for their doing it in this manner, if they intended to do it at all; for if it had in the least taken air, they would have been immediately Prorogued or dissolved which is alwayes in the Governours powers, some say the Irregularitys consisted not so much in the manner of drawing as in the manner of transmitting the Address, for by a standing Instruction say they, all Petitions

to the King must be Transmitted thro' the hands of the Governour, and it is certain the Governour endeavoured to make them believe so. But when the full Instruction come to be enquired into all Petitions that contained any Complaint of a Governour were Expressly Excepted out of it.

3. It is likewise here said as a further aggravation of the Crime, that this Address was sent in the Name of his Majestys Subjects of that Colony (without their knowledge and contrary to their Inclinations) as if the Burgesses could not Act in the name of the Constituents, without calling every Individuall man and asking his consent, this would be a rare mobbish Government.

4. They take upon them again to declare the Charge entirely groundless and beseech his Majesty to give no Credit to it. A Short way, instead of Answering the particulars of the Accusation, they thought it was better to lump them, and to assure his Majesty that it is all false, and Instead of proof, they beseech his Majesty to give no Credit to it.

Paragraph 3d. We are bound in Duty &c.

In the first part of this Paragraph the praise of some blessings there enumerated is wholly given to the Governours Wisdom and Conduct. 1. The retrieving the publick Credit. 2. The securing the peace of the frontiers. 3. The encrease of Trade. 4. And the destruction of Thache and his Crew. The truth of all which shall be enquired into. The substance of the matter is, Tobacco bear's a better price, for these four or five year's past, than he did formerly, and the praise of it is no more due to the Governour than he was to be blamed for its being a Drugg the first four years of his Government. The rise of Tobacco is owing to a Concurrence of Circumstances in which he had not the least hand, viz: The Generall Peace which opened the Export of it to all markets, great drought in the Country, which Occasioned short Crops for severall years together, the Duty of Tobacco expiring in Ireland, which occasioned the stocking of that Country with great quantities of it, before the duty was laid again, and this helped to drain England; The opening a Trade directly to Scotland by the Union and their new wayes of running, which Occasioned their giving

great prices for it in Virginia, and above all to that excellent late Law in England, for Encouraging the Tobacco Trade. These are the true reasons of the Encrease of Trade, and the retrieving the publick Credit without him, for the publick Credit being in Tobacco, when that is a good Commodity the Credit is good, but when Tobacco falls, the publick Credit is bad. The other two blessings we have to account for, are the Securing the frontiers and the Destroying of Thache and his Crew of Pyrats. As to the Securing the frontiers, many things have contributed to the Quiet of them too long to be inserted here, but they are no better nor so well secured as before Except that the Governour for his own private Interest (he being one of the Indian Company that has a factory there) has gott at the Charge of the publick a Fort built and maintained at Christanner, and to get his own land Tenanted has obliged the Germans to seat at Germanna, which perhaps may be thought some Security to the Frontiers that are very near these Forts, and yet the frontiers were as Secure in other Governours times as in his; the Melitia being kept in much better order, which is the greatest Security in a Country where there are no standing forces, but if it were as they would insinuate what does the King give £2000 p<sup>r</sup> Annum Sallary besides perquisites for?

As to the destroying of Thache and his Crew that Story had better be kept in silence than told for if all the Circumstances of it were known they would make little for his Reputation. For after Thache had surrendered himself upon the Kings Pardon to the Governour of North Carolina Coll<sup>o</sup> Spotswood being informed of some rude Actions he and his Crew were guilty of in that Government, instead of Acquainting the Governour of that Country therewith, or Offering to assist him to reduce Thache & his Crew, Understanding that there was a good deale of money and a great many Negroes in the case, he persuades the Kings Men of War to Surprise and kill the men within the Country of Carolina, and to Seize the goods and to bring them away to Virginia, where he had them condemned as Pyrats goods, tho' taken within the time limited in the Kings Pardon, and the Money not put into the hands of

the Kings officers as it ought to be but, immediately into his own hands, in hopes grants will be more easily obtained of it, than if it were to come thro' the Treasury.

In the second part of this Paragraph all the strange Innovations he has made are Imputed to his Endeavours to maintain the Prerogative, and to Augment his Majestys Revenue Specious pretexts for a Governours Arbitrary power, by which it is said he has disobliged some, who want a greater power and License, than are consistent with his Majestys Service and the happiness of the Subjects either of that or our Mother Country, All very false insinuations against a Quiet loyall and peaceable people as any in the World, who are well known there not to have been grasping at more power, but only to have endeavoured to defend what they had by the Laws & constant Custome of the Country till he took it from them. To come to the particulars what part of his Majestys Prerogative did any in that Country ever endeavour to Invade? or what part of his Majestys Revenue did they ever endeavour to lessen? who ever wanted any power or license inconsistent with his Majestys Service? These are all pure fictions to blind such as know nothing of the matter, but in a cunning style like his, they are proposed with an If, that if they are required to make them good, they may Securely deny that they fixed them upon any body, and they may very truly tell his Majesty as they do, that if there are any such Persons in this Country they have very few Adherents.

They conclude with a handsome Salvo, which will Justify a seemingly strange thing they assert, which is that as a Grand Jury they find no Oppression on his Majestys Subjects in that Colony, they speak not simply of their own private knowledge or belief, but as being a Grand Jury they are bound by their Oaths to enquire into and present all Trangressions of the Established Laws. This seems to be something but is really nothing for nobody ever expected that the Oppressions of a Governour would be presented to a Grand Jury.

Animadversions upon the Printed Remarks on  
The Two Virginia Addresses.

1st. Remark on the Grand Jury Address.

This address was deliberately prepared, and unanimously approved and Subscribed by every Member of the Grand Jury.

1st. Remark on the house of Burgesses Address.

This Address was Surprisingly brought in, and is now utterly disclaimed by more Burgesses than voted for their Speaker's signing it.

Ans<sup>r</sup> To the said two first Remarks.

The design of these Remarks being to set the Blemishes of the House of Burgesses, over against the praises of the Grand Jury Address. It will be fitt first to answer these remarks, and then to offer some other points wherein they might be compared.

The first Comparision in the Deliberate preparation of the Grand Jurys and the Surprizeing Suddenness of the House of Burgesses Address, if it were so there is a very good Reason to be given for it (and it is a further Instance of the Servitude of that People) namely that the House of Burgesses in forming a Complaint against the Governour were obliged to be carefull that it should not take air, as being well assured if it did they be immediately prevented by him. But the Grand Jury being on the Governours side were under no such Apprehension, and therefore might vote more openly, avowedly and deliberately go about their Panegyrick.

But besides this, if all be true, this is no comendation at all in the Subscribers of this Grand Jury's Address. To have such an Address brought in and passt by the lump without any debate, what does it prove but that their address was deliberately drawn but not by them; and swallowed down, as flatterers used to do without chewing, it being really almost Impossible that so many mens witts should so exactly jump in an Instant (if it were not that all was left implicitly to a Superiour Judgment) as not to have the least difference or debate in a business of that Consequence.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)